

Democratic approach to Hamas Movement Between theory and practice

Prof. Dr. **OSAMA M. ABUNAHIEL**

Professor of Modern and Contemporary History
Middle East Studies Program Coordinator (former)
Al-Azhar University - Gaza (Palestine)
osamabunahiel@hotmail.com
osamabunahiel@gmail.com

Dr. **AHMED J. AI- WADEYA**

Assistant professor of political science
Vice President for Academic Affairs
Management and politics Academy for postgraduates Studies
Gaza (Palestine)

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Abstract: After the victory of Hamas in Palestinian legislative elections, held on 25 January 2006, approximately 70 % of the number of seats in the Palestinian Legislative Council, did not want to form a Government alone, knowing in advance that obstacles will be placed in its way to frustrated, so Hamas offered from the outset on other Palestinian factions to participate in this Government, despite ideological differences, differing political agendas of these factions, between them and Hamas religious ideology and its political Programme, that, which accept a Palestinian State on the borders of 4 June 1967, But without formal recognition of Israel, but for a long-term truce. However, the factions refused to participate in the Government of Hamas, hoping failure of Hamas.

However, the tenth Palestinian Government led by Hamas, came under siege, regional and international pressure, led to tension between Hamas and the Presidency, which began to withdraw powers from the Government, which ultimately led Hamas to resolve and declare its takeover of Gaza Strip in mid-2007; now control this sector alone, while the West Bank remained under the authority of the Presidency, and since that time we are witnessing in the territory of Palestinian Authority with two heads Governments, and sharply politically and socially divided to this day.

What concerns us here, the Governments led by Hamas in Gaza, which led the logo change and reform, and we will try in this study, explain how Hamas tried to balance its position, and how apply it on the ground, through the practice in the community of Gaza Strip.

Words Key

Hamas - Gaza Strip – Ideology – Siege



Introduction

The join of Hamas to the Palestinian Political arena and winning the legislative council elections in 2006 was not by accident. For a long time, Hamas invested the increasing negative accumulation of the Palestinian authority through showing the features of the financial and administrative corruption and this corruption embodied in proliferating abnormal phenomena in the Palestinian society such as favoritism, bribe, security chaos, family and geographical domination. In addition to that, the adherence of Hamas to the armed resistance and committing distinguished operations against the Israeli Occupation while declining Fateh movement from this approach to the futile peace process.

Hamas faced huge challenge even before forming the tenth government, Hamas faced fierce political and economic war, both local and international to suffocate it and cause its failure. later,

these lead to the Palestinian political division. in spite of all these, Hamas partially succeeded in breaking the siege which was imposed and Hamas could create a harmony with the Palestinian society after it could successfully ended the security chaos, the family domination, geographical domination, etc...

The importance of this study stems from the rare studies that tackled this issue neutrally, the majority of the previous studies dealt with the issue in a narrow factional views that were reflected because of the attitude of that political party or an independent party that hate the Islamic method which Hamas adapts.

Our study used the descriptive technique, it analyses the issue and describes it. Without this, it would be too difficult to be neutral and subjective researcher.

The political Islam and its view in democracy

It is an undeniable fact that the word "Democracy" is a western idiom appeared in Greece long time ago, then it started to be spread and applied according to the interest of every country, even the dictatorial political regimes used this term and claimed that they apply the democratic principles in their colonial countries or in the third world countries.

On the contrary of this, a new term appeared in the Islamic world, Shura, it was more specific, accurate, this term which means the right of the nation to be consulted from their leader "the executive authority", so the Islamic nation is responsible about the decision whether it was positively or negatively, our prophet Mohammed, may the peace and the bless of Allah be upon him was the first to apply this doctrine in Bader battle on the second year of the Islamic calendar when he consulted Muslims while they were on their way to fight the disbelievers of Koresh tribe despite the fact that he was supported from Allah but he wanted to show a wonderful example to his followers to follow this wonderful example ¹, and this comes to confirm the Aya in the Holy Quran which means "that their decision should be consulted among them" ², then the action of the second caliph when he was about to assign the dowry. A woman stood and refused, and then he said a woman is right and Omar is wrong, this proves that the first Muslims were so great in this issue.

But the political law that is applied in the Islamic world nowadays infringed the political Islamic principles such as dignity, justice, freedom, Shura, and practiced a regime that is nearer to the dictatorial regimes in the Umayyad, Abbasid, Ottoman, Safawi and Magoul periods ³.

Since the emergence of Umayyad Caliphate, the officials had started gradually to inverse on the Shura concept, firstly from the imposition of Umayyad Caliph, Muaawya Ben Abi Sufyan his son Yazeed in the ruling, the unusually matter with the previous Al khulafaa Arashdeen who made the choice of the Caliph from the right of the Umma not forcing imposition.

Since that time to our present day, forced ruler began to rule and he considered himself as a shadow of Allah on the earth and a representative in ruling what he can of creatures. The situation of Muslim regimes continued on this manner and many of Muslims plead their

¹- Surat Al - Omran: 159.

²- Surat Al-Shura: 38.

³- "Aldawla Alislamia Alhadetha Bain Alnatharia wa Altatbeek", Horiyat Alsudan website, 5/10/2011, <http://www.hurriyatsudan.com/?p=37531>

consolation in Utopianism theories from: Sunni, Shiite, and Sophie in our modern life and as result of Muslim attaching to Islam and the inspirations of wonderful historical experience and to protect from intellectual invasion, western cultural and also as a result of the failures of political regimes: Liberalism, nationalism and socialism, modern attempts were made to establish Islam in political regime and their chance of applying political Islam principles is not better than the chance of historical Islamic states in the regime that established whether it was hereditary or military. It was established on the overcoming approach which the Caliph Omar Ben Alkhattab confirmed by his saying: Who swore allegiance to a prince without Muslims advice then no allegiance to him or to the prince.

Subsequently, the modern regimes which ruled Islamic countries accompanied the Contemporary tyrannical rule regimes which was established by Stalin, the Russian leader as a police application for Marxism and Hitler the Germanic leader applied the similar regime from the right and which they innovate became a new regime – vashstotalinania - which gathers the characteristics of the rule of modern tyrannical regimes in the Islamic countries.

Whatever their slogans were different such as nationalism, socialism, and Islamic, but it represents the one tyranny denomination including one dominant party, compelling security, misleading media and economy⁴.

In the shade of these circumstances which passed in the Islamic nation history and with the prevalence of the principles of western democracy in most of advanced countries. Some of political Arab elites began, since they gained political independence from colonial countries, to demand the application of these principles among political regimes that came to rule either by military coup or by face elections or through inherit whether in monarchy or republic as happened in Syria in 2000. As the Arab political Islamic movements were a part of the opposition, they called for the necessity of applying the western democracy principles, which they adapted with them after they faced difficulty in applying Shura principles according to Islamic regimes in Arab countries due to the penetration of the secular speculation among majority of opposition in these countries. It seems that the concern of these movements was in the necessity of nominating the democracy principles that recognized first, then when they can access to rule begin in the application of Islamic Sharia in all the joints of the states: political, social, and economical, however there is no harm in this unless causing contradiction with the freedom of societies in the freedom of opinion and the freedom from the influence of the ruler, the tyranny individual who see in himself the political qualifications not exist in others and thus his leaving from the bottle where he was imprisoned in for centuries.

As known that in the contemporary history, Iran could after the success of the Islamic revolution in it in 1979 apply the principles of the Islamic Sharia in ruling.

And in spite of the supreme leader of revolution is the one that all authorities in the countries return to him but that does not prevent from choosing a president for Iran according to the regime of the presidential elections which universally applicable as well as the elections of Iranian parliament which made regime in it to some extent democratic regardless the interferences of the revolution leader in what he see it dangerous for revolution future.

⁴ Ibid.

And we support what is mentioned above by Esposito saying: Most of Muslims accept the modern state in spite of their many observations on it and recently turned to involved political pluralistic attitude support democracy and human rights and economic reform, reject violence and prepare nation to Islamic regime instead of imposing on them ⁵.

Whatever it was, the emergence of Palestinian authority in 1994. The situations continued and became worse in Palestinian lands because of the declining of the economical and social conditions and the spread of financial and administrative corruption that increased.

unprecedentedly in Palestinian society and led to emergence several negative forms in which the gap between poor and rich increasing and the control of groups in the Palestinian authorities on an important part from income and wealth and the increase in crime rate in the society and the security chaos and the spread of favoritism according to dealing principles with trusted people more than the qualified and experienced people in addition to the increasing political low in Palestinian authority performance and its failure in achieving the minimum the of national targets in which the social and political situation became ready to conflict ignition and internal contradictions with Hamas movement reaching to the aggravation of these contradictions and turn it to a bloody conflict and then the decisiveness to Hamas movement side in the middle of June 2007 which enabled it from that date to impose its religious political vision or what is known by Islam vision and political logic on Palestinian society in Gaza Strip ⁶.

Hamas victory in the legislative elections in 2006

First, it is necessary to refer to the wrong view, which was adopted by the Muslim Brotherhood since the fifties of the last century until the outbreak of the first Palestinian Intifada 1987, that is not to adopt the armed struggle against the occupation, and put itself as competitor and restraint for the nascent Palestinian National Movement and it's warfare against the occupation, and prioritized the social agenda of the Muslim Brotherhood represented in islamization of society and postponing the confrontation with the occupier, but it comes to atone the national movement and accuse it of disloyalty. This situation remained until the moment of the outbreak of the first intifada, which Muslim brotherhood announced, influenced by street pressure and fidgeting of its social base, the break of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas).

This change was seen as an achievement for the Palestinian nationalism, as the joint of influenced power represents the political Islam in Palestine besides the national movement, and its participation in open confrontation against the occupation. However, trend of affairs changed, when Hamas became the most prominent challenger to the PLO's on the domestic level, and trod a solitary path away from the national forces and the Unified National Leadership of the intifada. The Palestinian leadership couldn't persuade Hamas to join the PLO, and also failed to agree on a communal program of events during the first Intifada⁷.

Hamas was born in a historical, political, intellectual and social context; its emergence had vicissitudes, and passed several phases since the establishing of Muslims brotherhood in Egypt.

⁵- John L. Spozito, *Altahdeed Alislami, Khorafa am Haqeeqa?* Translation: Dr. Abdul Sattar Kassem, 1st edit., Cairo, Dar Al Shorouk, 2002, p. 100.

⁶- Ghazi Al-surani, *Almaraa Alfelesteeniya wa Dawrha fe Almasar Alwatani wa Aldemokrati (Roya nakdia tahleeliya)*, Kotlat Alwehda Alomaliya website 11/10/2010, <http://www.wubp.org/w/?p=265>

⁷- Muhammad Hijazi, *Harakat Hamas Bain Khayarai Alsharaka wa Altafarrod, Aldirasat Alfelesteeniya* magazine, Vol 22, Number 87, Summer 2011, pp. 59-60.

Undoubtedly, the phenomenon of emission is not Immediate but historical and common, and has happened repeatedly across religions and communities though the contrariety of political and social levels, where religion plays an active role in the ideological structure of state apparatus, and uses the religious symbols and statements, as basic tools to justify policies and practices and legitimize them ⁸.

Hamas movement's attitude of democracy, while democracy is the rule of the people for the people, while Shura gives the governorship to God, Hamas as a branch of the Muslim brotherhood prefers democracy, so it followed a new strategy, as a way of changing, due to failure to achieve a political success, under a closed and authoritative political system, and society politically lukewarm. Since the main objective it is to build an Islamic state, and the application of Islamic law immediately, it recognized that this aim is difficult to be achievable on the ground which pushed it to practice a more moderate policy, and formed a practical vision for the political reality, and as the democracy and principles of human rights, knew it's route to the speech of the Muslim Brotherhood in general, and privately Hamas, It recognized that democracy is not incompatible with Islamic law, and the Sharia "consultation", such as democracy commands to respect freedoms, women's rights ... etc. ⁹.

There is mistiness and contradiction in the theory and practice of Hamas about democracy, where some see it as a tactic in order to reach the desired goal, which is the application of the Shura after the establishment of the Islamic Caliphate State, Ismail Radwan, Hamas leader says "when Hamas launches the term democracy, it means Shura (الشورى) in Islam, which gives way for people to choose their leadership, and that doesn't mean to make any contradiction with the Islamic belief¹⁰.

PLO's attitude towards Hamas movement was not based on a deep understanding of political Islam, its role, the specificity of the Palestinian case, and its relationship with the Muslim brotherhood and its branches, and the Office of General Guidance for the World Muslim Brotherhood, and it is global financial commitments, and the political Islam's capital as an oil phenomenon. In addition, did not realize the level of influence of political Islam, the huge support provided, and the social and political range employed.

The National Movement did not accommodate what the islamization of the society afford of wide scope in terms of political action. Saying, for example, that Hamas is seeking to establish a theocratic state, may not mean more than granting the political entity a religious sanctity, i.e. Above accountability and criticism. The failure of the PLO and Fatah movement, particularly, in the completion of the state program, through the course of the Oslo negotiations agreement, and by building a rule empty of corruption and favoritism, made Hamas first opposition force, citing on mistakes and practices of the Palestinian political authority, which presented propaganda material ready to Hamas, Weakened the authority, and multiplied the centers of power, and not to monopoly power, opened the door to Hamas to take advantage of the situation, and to grow

⁸- Barnamej Hokomat Hamas: Bain Alwaqe wa Almamool (Nathra Tanmawea), Derasat Altanmiya Center, Birzeit University, <http://home.birzeit.edu/cds/arabic/news/paper-tayseer.html>

⁹- Hosam Aldajani, Foz Harakat Almokawama Alislamiya Hamas fe Alintikhabat Altashre'ea Alfelesteeniya (2006) wa Athro Ala Alnetham Aalseasi Alfelesteeni, Gaza, Unpublished Master Thesis, Al-Azhar University - Gaza 2010, p. 49.

¹⁰- 10 Ibid, P. 50.

and be stronger to become a power and authority within the authority, has huge potentials with big slogans played on people's emotions ¹¹.

Hamas as Islamic movement before anything, practices politics as one branch of the Islamic religion's, and when the movement was criticized about mixing religion and politics, and its attempt to create a theocracy, they bragged of mixing religion with politics, because Islam is a political religion, cultural, social and political system, consists of general principles, does not differentiate between religion and state, and this qualifies Hamas and other Islamic movements to manage authority efficiently, if the actual and real terms of participation available. Hamas gained new experiences through their interaction with many other national factions (Alliance of ten opposition factions), and other political alliances, and tended to formulate new lexical words recognizing the existence of the other, and has been active through the ballot box in the student and Syndicate elections, and these experiences taught it a lot of experiences, which was reflected directly on its political discourse, and then we are now in front of a formulation of Hamas radically different from that of the last century ¹².

And before the legislative election in 2006, Hamas presented different political speech and keen to present itself more political and less ideological, however, within the limits of its wide slogan- the Islam is the solution- and expressed obvious organizational efficiency and continuous ability, to present social service to the public as alternative for governmental chaos ¹³.

Moreover, from the desire to participate in democracy life in Palestinian Authority lands, Hamas decided to participate in legislative elections in spite of the difficulty of economical and political circumstances, which Palestinian people passed over decades of the time. the movement slogan and the announced target to enter these elections was change and reform so it called the electoral list which it formed the name - change and reform- the name had its influential significance in Palestinian society in its inside lands and Hamas willingly entered elections in 2006 and seems that there is a tactic.

which made it decide to participate in these elections whereas it did not participate in the first legislative elections 1996, because the Palestinian Authority was in its beginning power and it had a popularity in the Palestinian street, Hamas was aware at that time that it would not be able to get the votes which qualify it to be strong opposition in legislative council and it seems that circumstances started to help it with the beginning of the authority weakness when the second Intifada broke out in 2000.

Hamas victory in legislative elections did not come from nothing but it was prepared by a series of vigorous preparations but in tight steps as preamble to this victory whether on the social level or military which made it qualified to this great victory exploiting the accumulations of its rival's mistakes in other Palestinian national parties especially Fateh movement which was leading the Palestinian Authority.

¹¹- Hijazi, op. cit, pp. 60-61.

¹²- Tayseer Faek Azzam, AlTajriba Alseasya Lharakat Almokawama Alislamiya Hamas wa Atharha Ala Alkhayar Aldemokrati fe Aldhafa Algharbia wa Ketaa Ghazza Lilfatra (1993-2007), Nablus, Unpublished Master Thesis, An-Najah National University, 2007, pp. 79-80.

¹³- Ibid, P. 80-81.

The municipal council's elections preceded the legislative elections in Palestinian Authority areas in 2005 but what interests us is the second course of the municipal councils elections and the procedure of municipal councils elections preceded the procedure of The speculator in the results of these municipal elections was able to discover number of significances which would have an outstanding effect on the political Palestinian arena in the close perspective. Hamas victory in number of municipal councils with an intensive population weight, which reflected negatively on the popularity of Fateh movement, represented in Palestinian Authority.

What Hamas had achieved of outstanding successes did not refer firstly to a large number of the people who joining to its rows but refer to the desire of mass people in change especially the faces that Palestinian mind kept so that the bore spread among all people because of their behavior and secondly for the more they suffer from worsening corruption and favoritism. Many of these people did not comprise under the banner of any from these organizations who is working on Palestinian arena. Thirdly and the most important that the movement dependence on the religious system influential which find a great success among religious young people groups especially who receives university education and even among normal educational class.

The secret beyond Hamas movement success is mainly due to the program which it adopted and succeeded till now in achieving which was the struggle and resistance program as well as social solidarity between the classes of the society which touched the deep heart of the people in the time when Fateh movement after the birth of the Palestinian Authority dried its military operations against Israel. Hamas filled the revolutionary and struggle vacuum that Fateh left for a long period then returned to it with broke of Al Aqsa Intifada in 28 September 2000¹⁴.

Thus, Hamas managed to depend on the cultural and doctrinal heritage and political position. and to find more than one exit to strict problematic political and ideological speech which it practiced from the opposition sites, so the speech about more than one vision became not located within the title of -Halal and Haram- but yield to standard which is known by transmitted, interests and bringing the advantages and preventing abuses and other many concepts in Islam doctrine which Hamas managed to utilize well through persuasion its cadres and supporters by its political positions validity. In spite of Hamas openness recently about the mechanisms of democracy such as: pluralism, peaceful transferring of authority, but we face the difficulty of saying that it turned to complete separation between two fields: political and religious so it developed to keep both of them in one public frame and it is considered that in the context of the influence first, on people. Gathering and mobilization. Secondly, this located within its great attempts to distinguish itself from other national movements¹⁵.

Due to the Israeli understanding in the difficulty of eliminating the Palestinian resistance, or even defeat it. Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon was forced to withdraw the Israeli forces from the Gaza Strip in September 2005, and the dismantling of the settlements. Sharon was forced to withdraw the troops from Gaza Strip, due to the ferocity of Palestinian resistance first, then a good reason cannot be ignored, which was making confusion in the Palestinian land, as a prelude to a civil war between the Palestinian factions. Sharon and his plans, which have already

¹⁴- Osama Abu Nahel, Keraah Mawdooeia fe Nataej Aldawra Althania Lintikhabat Almajalis Albaladia Alfelesteeniya, Alfostat website, <http://www.fustat.com/muawat/abunahel.shtml>

¹⁵- Jamil Helal, Altantheamat wa Alahzab Alfelesteeniya Bain Maham Aldemokratea Aldakhliya wa Aldemokratia Alseasia wa Altaharror Alwatani, Ramallah, Mowatin, 2006, p. 52.

succeeded at least partly, he has taken advantage of the disharmony between the Palestinian factions to push the Palestinian arena to the roar of a civil war. We have seen the end of that year, a simplified rehearsal for this war in armed conflict that broke out between regulatory: Fatah and Hamas, and the Palestinian Authority and Hamas. It was an experience (rehearsal) for the future for the worst because after the legislative elections, leading to what might be described as the "Algeriation of the Palestinian Authority lands", Algeriation means that Palestine should wear the same dress as Algeria did after the parliamentary elections which took place in the early nineties of the last century and converted those lands to accumulate in a pool of blood from sacrificed yesterday for the independence of their territory¹⁶.

Palestinian political division and its impact on the process of democratic transformation

After the emergence of unexpected results of the legislative elections in early 2006, circumstances changed and changed the Palestinian politics combination upside down, the Palestinians divided into groups and teams, and began the political division beating its doors in the Palestinian political arena, and we are now witnessing a sharp disagreement between the various programs of the Palestinian factions. As a result, the Palestinian cause is suffering from misery, at the hands of the factions and organizations, as well as the matter of the Palestinian Authority, after the deficit has been proven to achieve the promise of the people, when they signed the Declaration of Principles (Oslo), From liberating them from the yoke of occupation and to live in an independent state.

Legislative elections were held with rejection of Israel and US, in addition to the European Union, Due to Hamas participation, and their threats to cut off financial aid to the Palestinian Authority in the case of Hamas victory or, Hamas participation in forming the next Palestinian government, but that elections have gained a great importance to the levels: national and international, due to conditions and factors which the elections were conducted, and its result. These findings formed the element of surprise, provoked strong reactions and variability between welcome, dismissive and conservative, those responses added additional importance for the elections.

Whatever the matter, it has become difficult to study Palestinian democracy after this disfiguring, as a result of the differences between the two movements: Fatah and Hamas, which led to the failure to convene the elected Palestinian Legislative Council, after Hamas taking over Gaza Strip in the summer of 2007, and the formation of an emergency government in the West Bank, and the invitation of the Palestinian Authority in Ramallah to the presidential and legislative elections, losing the experience of Palestinian democracy, hailed by international observers, all of what has been achieved in the past years¹⁷.

In the words of Dr. Youssef Rizqa, political adviser to Ismail Haniyeh, prime minister in the dismissed Hamas government, the political reality on the ground in the West Bank and Gaza before the second legislative elections, was not consistent with the Palestinian political regime and the texts of reference, the political regime: a constitutional, democratic, respectful of pluralism, It encourages participation and separates the authorities, and gives the Legislative

¹⁶- Osama Abu Nahel, Israel Altawasoeeya wa Moarikhoon Aljodod, Alfostat website, http://www.fustat.com/sub/C_hist.shtml

¹⁷- Ayman Abu Nahia, Kharetat Tareek Aldemokratiya Alfelesteeniya, Felesteen Online, <http://felesteen.ps/details/news/86880.htmlb>

Council the wide powers in performance and monitoring, budgeting and accountability. However, the field realities on the ground, between 1996-2006, showed that all above were just slogans, and tells the influential spirit dictatorship, showing partisan theft of government, institutions, and harnessing of the party, or personal interests, which resulted in the absence of serious institutions of power and law before the participation of Hamas in the elections, and resulted in the rejection of the election results, and the devolution of power after the victory of Hamas¹⁸.

Whatever the case is, Hamas after its victory in the legislative elections, has worked to postpone the applying of the Islamic Sharia, Hamas gave only general characteristics of the form and the identity of the Palestinian political regime of the Islamic point of view, and refused to go into this issue, because of the priorities of the national democratic liberation. Because it did not impose restrictions on the social life of the citizens, and personal freedoms, what is practiced on the ground with regard to Social Profile policy process, is the Movement: political, social and reflect the political and social interactions and moved and behaved as other parties also re-elected, and continues to influence in the community, and the position power, and not be dragged into a war on the unveiling, liquor, etc., and bet on the small gains of reforming the institutions of power. Perhaps Hamas sought through its presence in power, and even when it was in opposition to the Islamization of society, as a prelude to the Islamization of Palestinian regime at a later date, the official road gradually, such as the use of religious discourse in many of the political issues, and raise the green flag¹⁹.

Hamas also approved to respect the political and party pluralism, and sought to find common ground with others to achieve common goals, as dictated by the circumstances, to rich Palestinian arena with various political currents, it also move under the authority does not adopt Islamic thought²⁰.

Regarding to how Hamas can raise the damage, and how it can conduct the reform process; according to Dr. Rizqa, we may agree in many modalities, and disagree in others, but we all agree on the importance of ending Security and political chaos, spread safety and security among the people, and resorting to the law in disputes. In this sense, we can read the experience of Hamas and its government in the eradication of the security chaos, and provide the blessings of security and safety to the community, as the largest positive tender to Hamas experience in governance, and as a requirement for all, including foreign nationals working in the Gaza Strip.

The financial and administrative corruption reached a great amount under the Palestinian's Authority Presidents: Yasser Arafat, then Mahmoud Abbas, and this corruption hit everyone without presenting any plan to reform, and that was the punishment that Hamas succeed in the elections, and build itself on its political program, reform and change and beating at the hands of financial and administrative corruption. Hamas and its experience in the authority also says; it has succeeded in suppressing the financial corruption, cleansing power from institutions, succeeded less in the administrative area, and put the financial and administrative systems on a straight road, but they are entered in the suffering of lack of money, the scarcity of jobs because

¹⁸ - Tahleel: Tajribat Hamas fe Alhokm Fatahat Albab Ltikrariha, Alresalah net website, '2009/12/13, <http://alresalah.ps/ar/index.php?act=post&id=4492>

¹⁹ - Azzam, op. cit, p. 75-79.

²⁰ - Ibid, P.86-87.

of the blockade, suffering has its purely political reasons, and nothing to do with financial and administrative experience, did not register financial embezzlement on any Hamas official during its experience rule, and also did not register external borrowing on the government.

Ismail Haniyeh revealed in his speeches, for a bitter reality in the political experience of Hamas, when he said: (We have been in government and we were not in power); this was the reality in the Palestinian tenth government, the government of national unity that followed, were not security institution obeys its order, but working against it, the ministries did not respond to the will of the government, but came out in demonstrations against it, and also did not embassies abroad respond to the decisions of the Secretary of State, but was working against him ²¹.

After the formation of Hamas to the 10th Palestinian government, The USA and the European union impose political and financial siege on this government, and it seems that some of national factions with some Arab countries accept this siege which attempting to stop Hamas from adopting its ideology which based on not confessing Israeli state and then joins to current compromise solutions in this region. As the Arabic proverb says "desperate diseases must have desperate remedies" means to fail Hamas's experiment in rule through Mass discontent from Hamas because of siege, which leads to destroy its Popularity between Palestinians.

It seems that policy starts to succeed, in September 2006 Palestinian authority suffered from paralysis situations in its foundations and governmental institutions as a result of continuing strikes which general sectors announced because of their claim of their delayed salary , Note that the issue of delay in payment of salaries was before the second legislative elections, and immediately Hamas accused Fateh of Politicize these strikes to gain more Palestinians sounds who asked to the elimination of government to end the siege. So Hamas considered that as a part of internal and external conspiracy which aim to eliminate the government and weaken the popularity of Hamas between Palestinians²².

In spite of Mekka treaty in 8th February 2007 between Hamas and Fateh and the result was the formation of 11th Palestinian government or as it was called national unity government and although Hamas made some political concession trying to Get out of the political impasse.

But this government didn't last long and the Political bickering continued between two sides, because of that Hamas decided to put an end to all that which may be cruel end, but it was unsurprisingly to those who watched the internal Palestinian situation closely, so Hamas decided in the middle of June at the same year to resolve the legitimacy matters to control Gaza strip or as it was called inversion against legitimate by Fateh faction and presidential institution. So may be Fateh accept the control of Hamas on Gaza as a real fact.

Through watching bloody events that took place between the two parties, when the Hamas took over Gaza by force of arms. It seems to us that President Mahmoud Abbas had known of this Hamas plan. In terms of his refusal to visit the Gaza Strip after these events. Moreover, he justified that has had prepared a tunnel to assassinate him. and giving up of the headquarters of the Palestinian Authority's military to Hamas was done with a lot of questions marks because of the lack of national security men who resist the attackers of Hamas. Except he Palestinian

²¹- Tahleel: Tajribat Hamas fe Alhokm, Ibid.

²²- Idhrab Almowathafeen Yatawasal wa Alhokoma Tabdo A'ajiza, Altareek magazine, <http://www.attareek.org/details.php?id=8aid=9068eid=29>

Preventive Security which is considered a mortal enemy to Hamas, which means that the leadership of the Palestinian Authority, was not reluctant of what Hamas had done. It seems that the purpose behind this behavior is that, controlling Gaza by Hamas by using power that may lead to spread of hatred against the Authority employees and Gazans.

Hamas government was able to achieve many achievements during the international embargo which was imposed on Gaza strip such as administrative and financial reform inside governmental institutions and rising the efficiency of the workers in public administrations, a new human resources department was set up and put new mechanism of training and development and many employees in public sector took many training courses to suit the practical needs and the government had worked to activate the internal supervision which reflected positively on the performance of the employee after observing the discipline of the employees in financial affairs and they committed in official signatures of the new government in all ministries²³.

Therefore, the Palestinian division is odd and exceptional situation that has its own causes that made it and pushed it to forefront. In addition, it is not a part of selective, political experience to Hamas in controlling. The division and then stumbled reconciliation, cannot be thrown in the Hamas-face without Fateh. The two parts is responsible for this situation and its continuation. However, the division situation practically means Palestine is led by two parts that they have different political implementations, one of them in West bank and the other in Gaza strip, and its result in not good for Palestinians.

The democratic transformation of Hamas after the legislative elections

When Hamas decided to participate in the legislative elections, its goal was not to build a new democracy, but to liberate Palestine in all possible means. so there is no any obstacle for Hamas to discuss democratic affairs in Palestinian field which is considered for Hamas as a helping factor to reach to liberation, Hamas experience in democratic field is not enough because it happens in this society which is not ready to practice true democracy process.

In addition, it is still trying to do it. It is a society, which based on social, mental structures that prevent growing and developing of democracy in good way.

However, Hamas political speech witnessed many important changes, because this speech was influenced by social environment and political reality that bounded it. Concerning of Hamas situation from democracy, it started to take care of democratic principles cases before the election, and the human rights inside Palestinian society. Whereas these cases were not existed on its agenda in this big shape that we see now. The lateness of Hamas to deal with democracy because of two factors.

The first: religion and democracy don't match in intellectual levels. In addition, the historical age that form for both. The other, Israeli occupation that effects on Palestinian reality²⁴.

²³- Moataz Al Debs, Altataworat Aldakhiliya wa Atharha Ala Harakat Almokawama Alislamiya (Hamas) 2000-2009, Gaza, unpublished master's Thesis, Al-Azhar University-Gaza 2010, p. 116.

²⁴- Eyad El Bargoti, Alislam Aalseasi Fe Felesteen: Ma Waraa Aalseasa, Jerusalem, Al-Quds center for information and communication, April 2000, p. 64.

As it was in changing and reformation bloc that Hamas used in its legislative elections, this movement inspires its principles from Islamic Sharia, and it is the main source of Sharia.

Islam is overall system that respects human and keeps its rights and obliges his duty, with parallel with the right of society. The movement believes in dialogue culture and respects all the opinions, providing that will not object with doctrine, but the main contradiction from the point of view of Hamas with the occupation, so Ismail Haniya said, his government will not impose its social program and it will use strategy that depend on: Firstly: understanding the trauma till reaching to take the initiative. Secondly: formative ambiguity, especially facing the external pressure.

So Hamas can't whatever its leaders declaimed. In spite of privacy of Palestinian situation to take out from its principles and intellectual address, and disavow its principles as it is described on of Islamic movement. Moreover, it stands on the same space in the main aspect that is Islamize the society and regime. In spite of all assurances, the background that controls most of the situations that the leaders declaim has a waste of historical distance and mix between thought and religion. In addition, it starts from govern ship idioms and the legacy authority and analytic reading to all the realities.

So the moving of Hamas from opposition to judgement position, will force it to make great ideological and structural changes, but it will not reach to the step of disavowal of its basic principles and its governmental program won't include the candidness of its intellectual principles to this movement, especially these which arise argument, but the program will judge to the principle with flexibility and may be formative ambiguity as Ismael Haniya said "we will confirm that Islam is overall system for life and Sharia is the basic source to rules"²⁵.

In response to the accusations; that Hamas used the democratic institutional building in order to dismantle the Palestinian Authority, which is gradually acceding to it; it avers that the pillars of this authority are obstructed the development of democracy, and the proof of this is the past experience, while its role was always pro-democracy²⁶.

Hamas has studied early Palestinian political system experience after the signing of the Oslo agreement; and saw that all the institutions and powers in the hands of the executive branch, and in the hands of President Yasser Arafat, and that agreement and its annexes postponed the fundamental rule of law and political components; the loss of the elements of their sovereign decisions in life management²⁷.

In creating suitable climate, which help to achieve the goals of the Palestinian people, in freedom, and independence, and keep the right people in the affairs management, and self-determination and the truth, and the dissemination of justice and equality between people, and the preservation of public freedoms and to end the administrative, financial and moral corruption., and modernize legislation and administrative systems, and caring in the human element. which requires constitutional reforms; as input for comprehensive political reforms and development and it is clear that the Palestinian political system is witnessing a major changing in power relations between its doers, but the stability on the new situation requires in addition to the

²⁵- Barnamej Hokomat Hamas, Ibid.

²⁶- Azzam, op. cit, p. 66.

²⁷- Jamal Mansour, *Altahawol Aldemokrati Alfelesteeni: Wojhat Nathar Islamiya*, Nablus, Palestinian survey and Studies Center, March 1999, p. 31.

time, more of intellectual, structural and organizational transformations and Hamas desires to rebuild this system but it did not pose an integrated vision yet and only emphasis on some general principles like partnership and the separation of authorities whereas it is too early to judge the behavior of Hamas government. That is what happened in the first session of the elected Legislative Council. In addition, the selection of the leadership of the new council is not reassuring. to vote is always easy mechanism for resolving and not desiring to build consensus, especially in the sensitive issues, Hamas is not acting out of power only, but according to the traditions of its work since its foundation as a comprehensive alternative, and there are legitimated caveats and fears, surrounded the future of the entire Palestinian political system²⁸.

It seems that Hamas merely political slogans regarding multiple aspects of corruption within the Palestinian Authority institutions, more than strained itself in access to the political process or pay attention to the internal Palestinian situation which was collapsing. Therefore, it did not resolve its position of power in terms of being a legitimate or not. In addition, it stayed inside organizational vision. Criticisms that were launched on the Palestinian system, and the lack of democracy and there were many negative phenomena and the accusation of corruption to some of people who have power in the authority. These accusations that were existed, Hamas started to build its own election manifesto. Does not justify its failure to develop plans and programs realism to improve the entire Palestinian situation; was able to battle reform and change, does not justify its failure to develop plans and programs realism to improve the entire Palestinian situation. It was able to battle of reform and change, straighten power performance, and contribute to the treatment of these issues, and fight since the inception of power, which became aware of it in late, without detracting from its role in the resistance, but merely criticism and watching the performance of power, and to try to win it, and employ it in their favor, thus opening the floodgates to widespread corruption in the institutions of power²⁹.

A Hamas belief in the conviction of political pluralism, and take the Lebanese Hezbollah model can be emulated, through openness, positive interaction with various political and intellectual spectrum committed to national constants. It is clear; that enthusiastic accept other political forces, as shown by its experience in the opposition; as a legitimate opposition forces. Hamas soon as they arrive to the orientation centers in the Palestinian Authority, has been developed slowly by virtue of the responsibilities placed on it; it is now groping increasingly need to deal with the rest of the national factions and the need to address the concerns and needs of the public into care, which would contribute to the process of evolution Democratic, but this does not mean that will change the enthusiasm of its ideology, whatever the circumstances, Because it is an integral part of the Muslim Brotherhood part, but will work within the new political tactic, not a pledge by the Palestinian arena³⁰.

Therefore; Hamas's participation in the electoral process, indicating at the same on the qualitative change in its approach and strategy; as this review means accepting the rules of the democratic game, as drawn by the Oslo agreement and its annexes, even dislikes that Hamas. Hamas's participation in the elections kept her sentence conditions and regulations, of including: the adoption of the principle of a peaceful solution, and negotiation to

²⁸ - Barnamej Hokomat Hamas, Ibid.

²⁹ - Azzam, op. cit, p. 69-73.

³⁰ - Ibid, p. 92-93,104.

resolve the conflict with Israel within the borders of a temporary entity, that it does not affect the national constants, as part of new strategies may resort to the movement later³¹.

And Haniyeh - by Mejdalani - focused on two important issues, it is vital that the debate begins around them, and in all seriousness among Palestinian intellectuals, regardless of intellectual attitudes and colors of party, especially since the majority of political forces, especially those who claim that they are still in Marxism sites Leninism did not exiting, These forces, have not shown an opinion or attitude towards the religious state, which Hamas has sought to set up, whether in Gaza or in Palestine³².

Whatever happened, Hamas leaders are struggling to deny any tendency for their movement toward islamization of Gaza strip by force. They confirmed that their movement is looking forward to find is Turkish model, not Taliban model as in Afghanistan. As Hamas says "Erdogan not Taliban", but the effect of this opinion in controversial, especially after the dismissal of Dr. Ahmad Yousef and Ghazi Hamad from their positions as counselors to Haniya in October 2006 because they were the ones who support this opinion. Therefore, Hamas government is under the siege of enemies abroad, which allow to military factions inside and outside Hamas to adopt radical approach. However, that is not against basic principles of Hamas, but it makes it go on forward. Which is contrary to the programmatic way that Hamas cares to show it. The deal of Haniya government with civil non-governmental organizations are good examples of that. At the beginning, Hamas didn't care about these organizations. However, it returned and cares about them. And later it reduced their number by half; the reaction of Salam Fayyad government to this was closing hundreds of civil organizations affiliated to Hamas in west bank³³.

Although, since the extension of Hamas and took over Gaza strip, its government was not succeed because of some factors helped which:

First, Salam Fayyad the prime minister of emergency government ordered about 7000 authority employees not to go to their work, and if they go, they will lose their salary. This decision freed Hamas, but on the other hand, this decision burdened it, because Hamas led Palestinian authority government 10th and 11th. Moreover, it was rejected strongly from civil and security services of Fateh movement to follow the instructions of government, since Fayyad made his decision, so Hamas had full control over executive authority in Gaza and Hamas started to replace thousands of teachers and other employees from other sectors with new employees. So that, it could expand its Islamic and social Agenda. Moreover, to control how to implement. This was reinforced when most of the local judges abided with the decision of supreme judicial council in the west bank, so Haniya government decided to set up its own courts that followed the government and employed many judges. Many of these courts were legitimacy courts.

Secondly, Haniya government inherited integrated, administration service, which has a lot of technical and administration skills with some help from Palestine authority employed who refused to follow the instructions and orders of Salam Fayyad decision, and went on their work. Therefore, Hamas strengthened this service by employing many of university graduates who

³¹- Ibid, p. 131.

³²- Ahmed Mejdalani, Harakat Hamas wa Alnamothaj Alislami, Alrokon Alakhdar website, 3/9/2007, http://www.grenc.com/a/amagdalani/show_Myarticle.cfm?id=8604

³³- Yazeed Saygh, Thlath Sanawat Min Hokm Hamas Fe Ghazza, Middle East Brief report, published by Crown Center for Middle East Studies, In Brandezs University, Beirut, chain of Al-Zaytouna translation studies (53), Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations, May 2010, p. 5-6.

belongs to Hamas. Hamas started to organize training courses for forming new professional cadre. What helped to do that was insisting Fayyad government to prevent authority employees to go to their work, which gave Haniya government the time to adjust with the new situations. Civil services employees and police officers had great morals of work. So it was encouraged under the logo which was "service people" which was the basic success of Hamas government in the middle of 2007³⁴.

About the situation from woman, Hamas confirmed its civil and legitimate rights and also it tried to re set personal status law which is derived from religious texts and jurisprudence and choose what suits with the development of Palestinian Islamic society under keeping on social relations and general morals and not to violate the social constants, and to be sure that woman role in. social leadership in jihad and resistance in building, development and fortify her with Islamic culture through chastity and modesty, Hamas also adopted to activate the role of women organizations, and to employ women energy in public work and building the society³⁵.

But in return, as Palestinian intellectual Ghazi Al- Surani see that, the conflict and division between Hamas and Fateh and the two illegitimate governments in west bank and Gaza strip, led to increasing the political division to Palestinian woman movement which was distributed through loyalty and personal interests between Fateh and Palestinian authority in Ramallah and Hamas government in Gaza strip with few groups of women which were not effective in leftist and nationalist power³⁶.

Through this, Hamas proved its pragmatic and dynamic way and its success in social process through its ideological extent largely. And through mosques and professional syndicate and Hamas formed Islamic work bloc similar to other groups, and charity societies, which were run by Hamas and supervised by it. And presents educational, social, healthy services and it is an important source of packing, mobilization and funding. Hamas has also been active in the field of media and has become powerful bloc of journalists, media workers, and operates radio station, and TV channels like Al- Aqsa and Al- Kitab³⁷.

Whatever the case, Although Hamas was not able to govern comfortably after winning in legislative elections, which does not have the chance to work. However, it has been able to achieve security spread throughout Gaza strip and stopped family phenomenon. Finally, it has been able to face two wars (2008/2009) and (2012) and the aim of them was to weaken Hamas' control on Gaza.

In general, there are many powerful factors that Hamas has to struggle against the imposed pressure on it such as³⁸:

1. Accumulated skills and public success.
2. Its program is clear.
3. Palestinian people wrap around.
4. Popular support: Arabic and Islamic support.
5. Ability to deal with status quo.

³⁴- Ibid, p. 4.

³⁵- Barnamej Hokomat Hamas, Ibid.

³⁶- Al-Sourani, Ibid.

³⁷- Barnamej Hokomat Hamas, Ibid.

³⁸- Ibid.

6. Failure of Fateh and leftist to regain the lead and win the confidence of the Palestinians.

On the other hand, there are few weakness points that face Hamas

1. Hamas like power and desire to control.
2. Neglect international decisions about Palestinian case.
3. Difficult transition from anti closed society to manage a real society.

Hamas' democratic approach after elections

After Hamas was able to win in big portions of legislative council seats, it has become a part of Palestinian political system. but this winning wasn't admired to a lot of national, regional and international forces and to cut the way to Hamas and put obstacles in front of Hamas to not to form the 10th Palestinian government. After its winning in the election and the formation, Palestinian political forces refused to join this government or to participate in.

so international siege was imposed on the government while most of the world was dealing with Palestinian authority in limited way as a kind of creating a case of political division in Palestinian society. That plan succeeded and made a struggle between Hamas and Fateh.

After Hamas accused Fateh of participating in that plan. So Hamas decided to end this by controlling on Gaza strip, in June 2007 until signing of the reconciliation between them in Gaza in April 2014, so various Palestinian forces intentionally or unintentionally contributed directly to the state of the division. Despite many attempts from some Arabic countries to reduce division between two parts and achieve the reconciliation, but all the attempts failed because of regional and international intervention. Whatever the case is, if we like or not, the Palestinian political division is actual and we see now the separated Palestinian parts in the occupied territories in 1967, one is in Ramallah and the other is in Gaza. As we know that the three parts, presidency institution, Ramallah government and Gaza government do not have constitutional or legal legitimacy. The Arab official system has contributed since 2006 and Israel is the first beneficial part from Palestinian division, so Israel started to build settlements in west bank, and Judaize the rest of Jerusalem.

We don't exaggerate if we say Hamas and Fateh should bear the direct responsibility in dwarfing the Palestinian case internationally, and helped by weakness of other Palestinian factions which satisfy minor role that are not worth. We can see other Palestinian factions accept Fateh and sometimes deal with Hamas. it seems that the loyalties of these factions controlled by others in abroad.

In study of Nathan Brown, entitled "Gaza after five years" he says, "political division is the main point of Palestinian political scene which establishes form of politics that sparked Intifada "resistance against oppression" that most of organizations and many governments in the Middle East and North Africa shook, according to Brown, Hamas didn't turn from movement to government alike. Although the confirmation of Hamas that the government and movement are separated³⁹.

³⁹- Nathan Brown, Alsoltawea Alnaema: Takyeeem Khamsat Sanawat Men Hokm Hamas LiKitaa Ghazza, show" Amira Al Barberi, Aalsea Aldawliea Magazine, No. 189, July 2012, <http://www.siassa.org.eg/NewsContent/5/25/2623/%D8%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%B9%D9%85%D8%A9%.aspx>

Brown says in his study that Hamas is the version that close to smoothness of Arab authoritarian, authoritarian control the oppositions and organize it, but it allows them to work in certain limits and imposes a group of red lines which is changeable continuously to regulate speech and public political work and it also monopolies a group of legal and institutional tools to keep the continuing of the law⁴⁰.

It is difficult for any observer of the Palestinian affairs to judge on the rule period of Hamas government after winning in the legislative elections, it didn't receive the government easily, but there were many obstacles internally, regionally and internationally, but we can judge on the performance of Hamas government after full control on Gaza strip in summer 2007 and not before that.

Whatever the case may be, Hamas after taking over Gaza, it made some steps, which tried to show its ability to do things in front of Gazans such as:

Firstly, imposing public system

Hamas government was able to impose system and security around Gaza strip, it prevented any forms of lawlessness, which was existed in many aspects of life, it controlled illegal armament that was also existed which made civilians feel panic, because weapons weren't always directed toward enemy, which was supposed to, so civilians could walk safely.

The spread of the security forces had a main role to prevent crimes and decline its levels. This thing was not existed in the past, and then the law is the judgment between different aspects of life. it is true that Hamas government fought against corruption and favoritism, but there were some of these aspects from the past still stick, especially that regards in cases that hurt the society like drugs and trading in it. We found the government forced who trade in drugs to pay money to release him, but in general, Hamas government struggled against drugs dealers and others.

Secondly: freedom of opinion

To talk about the freedom of opinion in Gaza strip under Hamas government has two aspects, the first one, Hamas after taking over Gaza didn't allow the freedom of the opinion in the media largely, especially people who linked with Fateh, most of them were called to investigation because of what they wrote or said. Sometimes Hamas closed some media offices, which were against Hamas. However, it also allows some criticism simply, especially who were independents.

The second: After Hamas government trusted that Gaza was under its fist and no one could weaken it, so it gave a space of the freedom in media to all.

However, during 2010, about 72 complaints of human rights violations were recorded in Gaza strip, where security forces have attacked peaceful group of civil organizations which affiliated to Fateh movement, these groups organized important gathering to show political support to Fateh movement, but it soon quelled these groups and also popular front for liberation of Palestine complained in February in the same year from repressive trend that dominated the thinking of Hamas, and Hamas also closed two journals, Palestine and independence that are own to Islamic jihad movement.

⁴⁰- Ibid.

To mention that, any closing of any journals is a normal reaction on what happened in west bank, in one year, Haniya government prevented some journals from west bank such as Al-Ayam, Al- Haya, Al- Quds ⁴¹.

Thirdly: public freedom:

When Hamas took over Gaza, its government restricted the freedom of supporters of Fateh movement. For example, the government arrested many of them for suspicion and sometimes it arrested some members of Fateh in response to the arrests, which were practiced by the Palestinian authority against Hamas members. Palestinian authority banned Hamas to do any political, social, financial or military activities, and Hamas did the same in Gaza.

When Hamas power increases, it started to give some space of freedom to some of Hamas members, such as not arresting them. Then after the conciliation negotiations between Hamas and Fateh, Hamas allowed in January 2013 to celebrate Fateh in its launch 48th and helped to keep the safety.

This is good point to Hamas, which is not against the freedom of others like travelling except some of Fateh members, and it was not against of personal freedom of individuals, it did not mind opening shops, Cafes and Cafeterias. Although Hamas is opposed these. It allowed woman to practise her normal life as it was before 2007.

It seems when Hamas governments allowed that freedoms to men and women of Gaza street, it concerned not pitting of Gaza public opinion against it, and to make it easy for it to have accepting from Gaza people on its performance, and that was happen most of times, and it seems that government which work patiently –it's one of advantages – it was seeing there's essential things, more important than it's just muscled in personal freedoms of its people, like: deflate to challenge opponents in leadership, and Fayyad government in west bank, and the challenges which enforced by Israel from time to another time.

If Hamas governments were but in personal thing, like: enforce tax on struggled tobacco by tunnels with Egyptian boards, it seems the aim is obligating smokers to stop smoking gradually, and in the last times, it begins preventing teens fashion and their strange haircut, and in this consideration, Al-Meezan community center denounced torturing some people and bad insulting behavior in 9th of April 2013. And center of human rights said: since the beginning of April, a campaign continued pursuing teens and arrest them and prisoned them, and practice violence, insulting, then, cut their hair or blacken hair by cut part of it randomly before unblocking them ⁴².

Moreover, to ignore the situation of human rights foundations, the step which done by Palestinian police in Gaza strip cannot be rejected, but it maybe is a good step, firstly, advice teens to stop wearing impolite fashion and repellent haircut and strange on customs Palestinian worthy, but generally, it's must not punish before advising.

Conclusion

At the end of the study, it is possible to reach to some important results:

⁴¹- Saygh, op. cit, p. 6-7.

⁴²- “Almezan Yastankir Altadakhol fe Alhoriyat Alshakhsia Be Ghaza wa Yotalib Be Moakabat Mortakibeeha”, Sama News Agency, 9/4/2013, <http://samanews.com/index.php?act=Show&id=156144>

- The pragmatic movement Hamas believes skinning her skin from time to time, in order to achieve partisan interests.
- The highlight what you believe Hamas movement, to adapt to the existing political facts on the ground. Consequently; belief in political pluralism in the Palestinian arena as long as you cannot change easily.
- The Hamas movement is satisfied with the time, not its ability to ignore the Palestinian political reality, after that the peace process has become an integral part of the Palestinian public system; so I decided to enroll for conviction or others in the Palestinian political system
- Hamas is a religious movement, a firm believer in the difficulty of changing the social reality of the Palestinian society; therefore, ignored the usages, either to change gradually, or to facilitate the process of this community to accept its policies, and therefore; non-objection later.
- The Hamas government of the Gaza Strip administration, like the contrast in behavior towards the citizens of the sector; sometimes been tough on cadres' opponents (Fatah movement), and often left to the citizens' freedom to act in their customs and traditions inherited, although opposed by Hamas and religious values.
- The democratic approach to the Hamas movement, is in the final analysis is acceptable somewhat, and we cannot in the absolute and branded, Authoritarian or militancy against the citizens of the Gaza Strip, but we find these citizens praise the Hamas governments, actions and practices that came out did not feel before.

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